1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes in fact their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wisemen*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children's minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, natu-

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rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

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carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most instances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea- "dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate.

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[47] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[48] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[49]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[50] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[51] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[52] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[53] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[54] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them... Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[55] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[56]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[47] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[48] Trowbridge MS.
[49] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[50] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 302; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[52] Trowbridge MS.
[53] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[54] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[55] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[56] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which
868 they were members. At a very early age children were given as
867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active.

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 262 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

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[86] [29]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like
something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you.
[863] That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.